MAN IN THE ARCTIC PROGRAM
Working Paper

# Who Migrates to Alaska?

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- Identify significant interactions between outside economic and social forces and Alaska conditions and institutions.
- Analyze specific public problems associated with these interactions and policy alternatives for dealing with them.
- Assist planners and decisionmakers in solving critical problems of concern to both the state and the nation.

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# WHO MIGRATES TO ALASKA?[1]

## INTRODUCTION

Interstate migration to Alaska has always been an important component of Alaska's rapid population growth. The most recent boom, created by construction of the trans-Alaska oil pipeline, is only one example of this phenomenon (Table 1). 1970 Census data can shed some light on the characteristics of migrants to Alaska in the 1965-1970 period, and the first part of this paper concentrates on analysis of both aggregate census data and Alaskan public use sample data. Fortunately, we need not stop there. In the summer of 1976, the Institute of Social and Economic

Table 1

Estimates of Alaska Population and Net Migration

| | July 1, 1973 | July 1, 1974 | July 1, 1975 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Census Bureau Total | 331,000 | 338,000 | 351,000* |
| State Total | 331,000 | 351,000 | 404,000 |
| Births-Deaths | | 5,100 | 5,700 |
| Census Implied Net Migration | | 1,900 | 7,300 |
| State Implied Net Migration | | 14,900 | 47,300 |
| Growth in Employment | | 17,000 | 30,000 |

*Recently revised to 365,000

Sources: Current Population Reports, Series P-25, various issues; and the Department of Labor, State of Alaska.

[1]This research was supported in part by a grant from the National Science Foundation to the Institute of Social and Economic Research. Helpful comments on an earlier draft were received from O.S. Goldsmith and M.J. Scott, but remaining errors are the authors' responsibility.

Research undertook a survey of residents of Fairbanks, Alaska, to gauge the effects on the community (Alaska's second largest city and main staging area for pipeline hiring and supplies) of substantial in-migration. Background socioeconomic data was collected, and a question on length of residence in Alaska was included in the questionnaire. The second part of this paper analyzes the characteristics of these survey respondents by length of residence in Alaska, and these results are compared with the findings in the previous section. A concluding section summarizes some tentative answers to the question posed in our title.

## ANALYSIS OF CENSUS DATA

Census data on migration has many well-known limitations, chief among them the 5-year interval used to measure migration. Many moves occurring between 1965 and 1970 are unrecorded in census data.[2] Given this caveat, we can analyze the aggregate data on gross migration to and from Alaska between 1965 and 1970, as well as the distribution of migrants by sending and receiving states. Table 2 reveals the extent of turnover in the Alaska population, and also the key role played by a few states as senders and receivers of Alaska migrants. Texas is much more distant than the others, but the oil link is undoubtedly very strong. The confounding effect of military migration is important, however. In 1970, 10 percent of Alaska's population was in the armed forces, and an equal or larger percentage were military dependents. Given the rapid turnover of the military population[3] and the location of military bases in states such as Texas, it is crucial to control for military movements.

Alaska public use sample data is a much richer source of detailed information about migrants to Alaska, although characteristics of out-migrants cannot be examined.[4] The military and military dependent populations can be excluded from the analysis, and Alaska Natives also can be treated separately. Table 3 shows the states of origin for Alaska non-Native migrants with military personnel and their dependents removed. The distribution is much more skewed toward the western states, as their share of gross in-migration is 53 percent compared to 38 percent in the aggregate Census data.[5] We can also compare the age distribution of migrants

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[2]See Larry Long, "New Estimates of Migration Expectancy in the United States," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* (March, 1973), pp. 37-43, for data on annual probabilities of interstate migration.

[3]Daniel Seiver and Susan Fison, "Alaskan Population Growth and Movements, 1960-1973," ISER Research Note, April 1975, discusses military movements in more detail.

[4]It is hoped that public use sample data can be utilized in the future to create a sample of out-migrants from Alaska living in other states in 1970.

[5]The role of distance as a deterrent has a long history; a recent reinterpretation is in M. Levy and W. Wadycki, "What is the Opportunity Cost of Moving? Reconsideration of the Effects of Distance on Migration," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* (January 1974), pp. 198-214.

**Table 2**

**Gross Migration Flows to and from Alaska, 1965-1970**

| State | Gross In Migration | | Gross Out Migration | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Percent | | Percent |
| Total | 100,067 | 100 | 91,713 | 100 |
| California | 15,088 | 15 | 14,386 | 16 |
| Washington | 9,489 | 9 | 11,016 | 12 |
| Texas | 7,837 | 8 | 7,951 | 9 |
| Oregon | 6,022 | 6 | 3,992 | 4 |
| All Others | 61,631 | 62 | 54,368 | 59 |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-2B, Mobility for States and the Nation, table 44, pp. 316-320.

Note: Tabulation includes entire population aged 5 and over in 1970 reporting a different state of residence in 1965.

with non-Native civilians who resided in Alaska in 1965 and 1970. Table 4 shows, not surprisingly, relative concentration of migrants in the young adult age groups, even though the resident population is itself much more skewed toward the young adult ages than the U.S. population.

A plausible explanation of this phenomenon is that the majority of migrants do not become "residents," and the younger members of the migrant group are the most likely to depart. Then, at any point in time, the recent arrivals will be younger than the resident population, which in turn will be younger than the U.S. population. Each "wave" of migration to Alaska has the same age distribution, but as the "wave" recedes, most of the migrants, especially the young adults, are carried away. This "wave" hypothesis is really Ravenstein's "counterstream" law with a vengeance. Yet at this point, we do not know the age distribution of the non-Native civilian out-migrants.

## Table 3

### Gross Migration Flows to Alaska, 1965-1970
(15 Percent Sample, Public Use Sample)

| State | Gross In Migration | |
|---|---|---|
| | | Percent |
| Total | 939 | 100 |
| California | 186 | 20 |
| Washington | 177 | 19 |
| Oregon | 78 | 8 |
| Texas | 56 | 6 |
| All Others | 442 | 47 |

Source: Alaska Census Public Use Sample magnetic tapes (15%).

Note: All 1970 military and military dependents and Alaska Natives have been removed from the tabulations.

The sex distribution varies slightly between the resident and migrant groups, but without data on the sex composition of out-migrants, it is hard to judge significance. The sex ratio is almost in balance, however, suggesting that Alaska's overall sex ratio will continue to converge to the U.S. level.[6] Migrants are also much more concentrated in the professional-technical occupation category than residents, and the high geographic mobility of these workers is well documented.[7] It is of interest to note that the heavy representation of this group among recent arrivals depresses the relative percentages of almost every other major occupation group (Table 5). The slightly higher percentages in 1970 for operatives, transport

[6]The overall sex ratio is influenced by the age distribution, given differential mortality. Thus, the age groups where women predominate (50+) are underrepresented in Alaska.

[7]A good example is Jack Ladinsky, "The Geographic Mobility of Professional and Technical Manpower," *Journal of Human Resources* (Fall 1967), pp. 475-494.

Table 4

Age-Sex Distribution of Migrants and Residents: 1970

| Age Group | MALES | | | | FEMALES | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Migrants | | Residents | | Migrants | | Residents | |
| | | Percent | | Percent | | Percent | | Percent |
| 5 - 9 | 68 | 13.8 | 109 | 10.0 | 48 | 10.8 | 156 | 15.2 |
| 10 - 19 | 96 | 19.5 | 261 | 23.8 | 92 | 20.7 | 255 | 24.8 |
| 20 - 29 | 139 | 28.2 | 143 | 13.1 | 142 | 31.8 | 141 | 13.7 |
| 30 - 39 | 90 | 18.2 | 168 | 15.4 | 77 | 17.3 | 137 | 13.3 |
| 40 - 49 | 55 | 11.2 | 190 | 17.4 | 43 | 9.7 | 150 | 14.6 |
| 50 - 59 | 33 | 6.7 | 146 | 13.4 | 31 | 7.0 | 134 | 13.0 |
| 60 + | 12 | 2.4 | 76 | 6.9 | 13 | 2.9 | 56 | 5.4 |
| Total | 493 | 100 | 1,093 | 100 | 446 | 100 | 1,029 | 100 |

Source: Alaska Census Public Use Sample magnetic tapes (15%).

Note: Migrants are those individuals reporting a different state of residence in 1965.

## Table 5

### Current Occupation Group Percentages for Residents and Migrants by Sex, 1970

| | MALES | | FEMALES | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Occupation | Migrant | Resident | Migrant | Resident |
| professional, technical | 22.9 | 13.0 | 22.6 | 15.4 |
| managerial, administrative | 13.1 | 15.0 | 3.6 | 5.7 |
| sales | 4.2 | 4.5 | 8.4 | 8.4 |
| clerical | 3.2 | 5.6 | 34.4 | 38.0 |
| crafts | 22.7 | 26.9 | 1.8 | 1.4 |
| operatives-non-transport | 8.2 | 7.7 | 6.6 | 5.5 |
| operatives-transport | 5.4 | 4.7 | 0.5 | 0.9 |
| laborer | 9.8 | 11.8 | 1.4 | 1.7 |
| agricultural | 0.7 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.5 |
| service | 9.9 | 9.9 | 16.8 | 18.1 |
| private household | 0.0 | 0.3 | 3.2 | 4.4 |
| | | 100 | | 100 |

Source: Alaska Census Public Use Sample (4%) tapes (5% and 15% samples).

Note: All 1970 military and military dependents and Alaska Natives have been removed from the tabulations.

operatives (male) and crafts (female) may be related to a pre-pipeline boom which occurred in 1969-1970.

Migrants are also much more likely to change industry or occupation or both over a 5-year period. Table 6 confirms this standard U.S. finding for migrants to Alaska. These combined changes, in addition to the generally higher price and income levels in Alaska, make it difficult to analyze the real income gains from migration to Alaska. It is impossible to know how much of 1969 income was earned in Alaska, and thus we have not examined income in this part of the study.

Alaska residents and recent migrants also differ with regard to years of education completed. Migrants have significantly more education than residents, even though residents are above the national mean (Table 7). Again, given the observed propensity of the highly educated to move often and far, this result is not surprising.[8] It also fits the "wave" pattern referred to above. The educational differential is strongest in the 20 to 39 group, tapering off at higher ages, and quite strong for both sexes. To the extent that highly educated individuals tend to marry each other, and migration of wives is "involuntary," the female differentials provide less independent support.

We must wait until 1982 to find out if this description of Alaskan migrants still holds for the 1975-1980 period. But the recent ISER survey of Fairbanks, Alaska, enables us to analyze the characteristics of very recent migrants to Alaska, their plans to move again, and even the impact of migration on the receiving community. The sections below present our "profile" of migrants to Fairbanks in the 1973-1976 period, which coincides with the pipeline construction boom. To the extent that short-term boom conditions attract the most mobile segments of the population, we may have captured a portion of the "chronic" migrants in the United States.

## A COMPARISON OF RECENT MIGRANTS AND LONG-TERM RESIDENTS OF FAIRBANKS, ALASKA[9]

### Survey Procedures

The data for this portion of our paper are based on a survey of households in the Fairbanks North Star Borough conducted between April 12 and July 16, 1976. An area probability sample was employed to ensure that each household had an

[8]Aba Schwartz in "Interpreting the Effect of Distance on Migration," *Journal of Political Economy* (September/October 1973), suggests that distance is a proxy for information flows and that an offsetting effect of education means that the more educated will be over-represented in long-distance moves.

[9]See John A. Kruse, "Urban Impacts of Oil Development—The Fairbanks Experience," *Alaska Review of Business and Economic Conditions* (December 1976), and *Research Notes: Fairbanks Community Survey* (ISER working paper), December 1976, for a complete discussion of the survey and results.

## Table 6

### Frequency of Occupation or Industry Change for Migrants and Residents

| | | RESIDENT | MIGRANT | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Industry Change | No | 513 | 132 | |
| | Yes | 276 | 153 | |
| | | 789 | 285 | |
| | | | | corrected chi square = 29.8 |
| | | | | phi = .168 |
| Occupation Change | No | 442 | 118 | |
| | Yes | 347 | 167 | |
| | | 789 | 285 | |
| | | | | corrected chi square = 17.3 |
| | | | | phi = .129 |
| Both Change | No | 568 | 161 | |
| | Yes | 221 | 124 | |
| | | 789 | 285 | |
| | | | | corrected chi square = 22.4 |
| | | | | phi = .146 |

Source: Alaska Census Public Use Sample (4%) tapes (5% and 15% samples).

Note: All 1970 military and military dependents and Alaska Natives have been removed from the tabulations, and occupation or industry unreported are omitted.

## Table 7

### Mean Years of Education Completed by Age Group and Sex, for Migrants and Residents

| Age Group | MALES | | | | FEMALES | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Migrants | | Residents | | Migrants | | Residents | |
| | Mean Yrs. | Number | Mean Yrs. | Number | Mean Yrs. | Number | Mean Yrs. | Number |
| 20 - 24 | 13.3 | 102 | 12.7 | 122 | 12.8 | 113 | 12.3 | 141 |
| 25 - 29 | 13.6 | 164 | 12.3 | 138 | 13.7 | 156 | 12.7 | 140 |
| 30 - 34 | 13.4 | 104 | 12.7 | 185 | 12.8 | 80 | 12.2 | 139 |
| 35 - 39 | 13.6 | 80 | 12.4 | 143 | 12.4 | 71 | 12.1 | 164 |
| 40 + | 12.1 | 181 | 11.5 | 841 | 11.8 | 157 | 11.8 | 646 |

Source: Alaska Census Public Use Sample (4%) tapes (5% and 15% samples).

equal probability of selection.[10] Sampling and interviewing procedures were patterned from those currently in use at the Survey Research Center (SRC) of the University of Michigan.[11] The number and distribution of all housing units were determined on the basis of aerial photographs, Bureau of the Census housing counts and field checks, all made during 1975. A sample of 91 of over 2,000 area segments was selected with probabilities according to the size of each segment.[12] Individual households were selected during the final sampling stage.[13]

A total of 415 interviews were completed for a response rate of 72 percent.[14] The final sample represents approximately three out of every 100 households in the North Star Borough. The estimated sampling error of the total sample for reported percentages of near 50 percent is 6 percentage points. Reported percentages can be assumed to be within 6 percent of 95 of 100 cases of the proportion which would be observed if every household in the North Star Borough was included in the survey.

### Discussion

We have chosen to define recent migrants to Fairbanks as the group arriving since June 1973, or approximately three years before the survey was taken, and before the pipeline boom began. All of the following tables divide current residents of Fairbanks into these two categories: migrant (less than three years) and resident (more than three years).

The age-sex distribution of migrants and residents can be compared in Table 8. The pattern is quite similar to the tabulation based on Census data, with a preponderance of individuals in the 20-39 age group. The sex ratio is again slightly more balanced for recent migrants. And, once again, while the "wave" hypothesis is supported by the data, no information on the composition of out-migration is available. Comparative data for the U.S. population as a whole shows how

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[10]For the purposes of the survey, on-base military and dependents, institutional residents, and persons staying in motels or hotels where more than 50 percent of the rooms are rented on a daily basis were excluded.

[11]See SRC, *Interviewer's Manual*, Revised Edition, The University of Michigan, 1976 and Kish, Leslie, *Survey Sampling*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965.

[12]Detailed field listings were made in each sample segment, yielding an actual housing unit count that exceeded initial estimates by 10 percent. To avoid the expense of an enlarged sample, a subsample of 84 sample segments was selected, again with probabilities according to size.

[13]A random start and interval selection procedure was used in which the interval was determined by the sampling fraction within each segment required to achieve an equal probability of selection given unequal-sized clusters. Within households, either the head of household or the wife was randomly designated as the respondent.

[14]A response rate of 80 percent was assumed in the design of the survey; however, the extent to which respondents would be absent from the household was underestimated. Even with up to six callbacks, no one was contacted in 12 percent of the occupied HU's. One explanation is that 37 percent of the employed heads of household worked over 60 hours in the week prior to the interview. This can be compared to the 16 percent of employed males residing in Alaska who worked more than 60 hours in the last week of March, 1970 (U.S. Census Public Use Sample).

**Table 8**

**Age-Sex Distribution by Length of Residence**

| | | Length of Residence | | U.S. 1970 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Less than 3 Years | 3 Years or more | |
| Males: | 0 - 9 | 16% | 16% | 19% |
| | 10 - 19 | 15 | 21 | 21 |
| | 20 - 29 | 32 | 19 | 14 |
| | 30 - 39 | 20 | 15 | 11 |
| | 40 and over | 17 | 29 | 35 |
| | | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| Median Age | | 25.0 | 26.01 | 26.8 |
| Number of Respondents: | | 273 | 377 | -- |
| Females: | 0 - 9 | 18% | 15% | 18% |
| | 10 - 19 | 16 | 22 | 19 |
| | 20 - 29 | 32 | 19 | 14 |
| | 30 - 39 | 18 | 16 | 11 |
| | 40 and over | 16 | 28 | 38 |
| | | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| Median Age | | 24.0 | 25.8 | 29.3 |
| Number of Respondents: | | 272 | 355 | -- |

Source: Fairbanks Survey and U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

dramatically the Fairbanks age distribution differs from the U.S.

The distribution by occupation group shows the same pattern as the Census data (Table 9). While the professional-technical percentage is higher for migrants, the percentages for crafts and transport operatives are also higher. The latter reflects the particular requirements of pipeline materials transportation and construction. It

Table 9

Occupation of Head and Wife by Length of Residence

| Occupation: | Length of Residence: Less than 3 Years | Length of Residence: 3 Years or more | N of R in Occupation |
|---|---|---|---|
| professional, technical | 28% | 23% | n = 138 |
| managerial, administrative | 11 | 11 | n = 60 |
| sales | 4 | 4 | n = 22 |
| clerical | 14 | 18 | n = 90 |
| crafts | 18 | 17 | n = 96 |
| operatives - nontransport | 4 | 8 | n = 37 |
| operatives - transport | 9 | 4 | n = 34 |
| laborer | 4 | 4 | n = 22 |
| agricultural | 0 | 1 | n = 1 |
| service | 8 | 9 | n = 47 |
| private household | 0 | 1 | n = 1 |
| | 100% | 100% | |
| Number of Respondents: | 230 | 318 | 548 |

should also be noted that Alaska ranked highest of all states (19.5 percent) in the 1970 proportion of employment in the professional-technical occupation group.

Mean years of education for male heads of households in Fairbanks (Table 10) also shows the same pattern as the Census data. Both sets of means are above comparable U.S. figures and again suggest that highly educated individuals migrate to Alaska, but a large portion of each wave migrates out.

Although we have not compared incomes of migrants and residents in the

discussion of Census data, it is possible to compare incomes earned in Alaska in 1975 for the Fairbanks Survey respondents. Table 11 presents household income data for the longer-term residents and those migrants arriving before 1975. Incomes of the recent migrants are less dispersed than the longer-term residents, but we are not controlling for variations in labor force participation, or hours or weeks worked during 1975. The respective medians for 1975 are almost identical, but note the time pattern of residents' income in Figure 1. It is clear that residents' income has increased dramatically during the construction boom and in-migration period.[15]

This rapid rise in incomes of the residents, combined with the passage of time, may be responsible for the findings reported in Table 12. Among recent arrivals, income and job are clearly extremely important, and this is not at all surprising. Yet, for the longer-term residents, these two reasons for coming to Fairbanks are much less important; in fact, these differences in attitudes between the two groups toward income and job are far greater than in most of the other areas. Long-term residents seem to place relatively more importance on being in a small town and close to a wilderness area than do recent migrants. This may result from a long-term

[15]The line depicting migrants' income does not distinguish between income earned in Alaska and the rest of the United States. In a separate calculation, it was found that median incomes were approximately equal in 1975.

Table 10

Mean Years of Education Completed for Male Heads of Households by Age and Length of Residence[a]

| Age Group of Male Heads of Households | Length of Residence in Fairbanks | |
|---|---|---|
| | Less Than 3 Years | 3 Years or More |
| 20 - 29 | 13.91 (56)[b] | 13.13 (46) |
| 30 - 39 | 13.90 (41) | 13.64 (50) |
| 40 and over | 13.20 (44) | 12.64 (95) |

[a]There were 62 female heads of households; while the patterns in educational attainment parallel that of male heads of households, the number of respondents is too small for sufficient reliability.

[b]Number of respondents is in parentheses.

Table 11

1975 Houhsehold Income by Length of Residence

| | Length of Residence | |
|---|---|---|
| | Arrived Between June 1973 and Dec. 1974 | Arrived Before June 1973 |
| Under $25,000 | 30% | 35% |
| $25,000 - $39,000 | 44 | 34 |
| $40,000 and over | 26 | 31 |
| | 100% | 100% |
| Number of Respondents: | 62 | 231 |

adaptation to the local environment by the residents, or, more likely, it may result from recent migrants coming to Alaska largely for economic reasons.

An additional indication of the high mobility of the Fairbanks population is shown in Table 13. The recent arrivals are planning to leave in the near future. If realized, this rate of mobility is much higher than the comparable U.S. rate for movers. A bit of evidence on the realization of plans is provided by a partial mail followup survey done about four months after the initial survey. A surprising number of questionnaires were either returned as "addressee unknown," "moved—left no forwarding address," or were actually forwarded.[16] The longer-term residents will be much less mobile, according to their plans, and again the pattern in Table 13 is consistent with the "wave" hypothesis.

## CONCLUSIONS

The characteristics of recent migrants and longer-term residents of Alaska is quite consistent from the two rather disparate sources of data available to us. For both the 1976 Fairbanks Survey and the 1970 public use sample, recent arrivals are more concentrated in the young adult age groups and professional-technical occupations. They are also more educated on average than the longer-term residents,

[16]Actual mobility has not been matched with the original survey questionnaire. At least one respondent moved twice in the intervening four months.

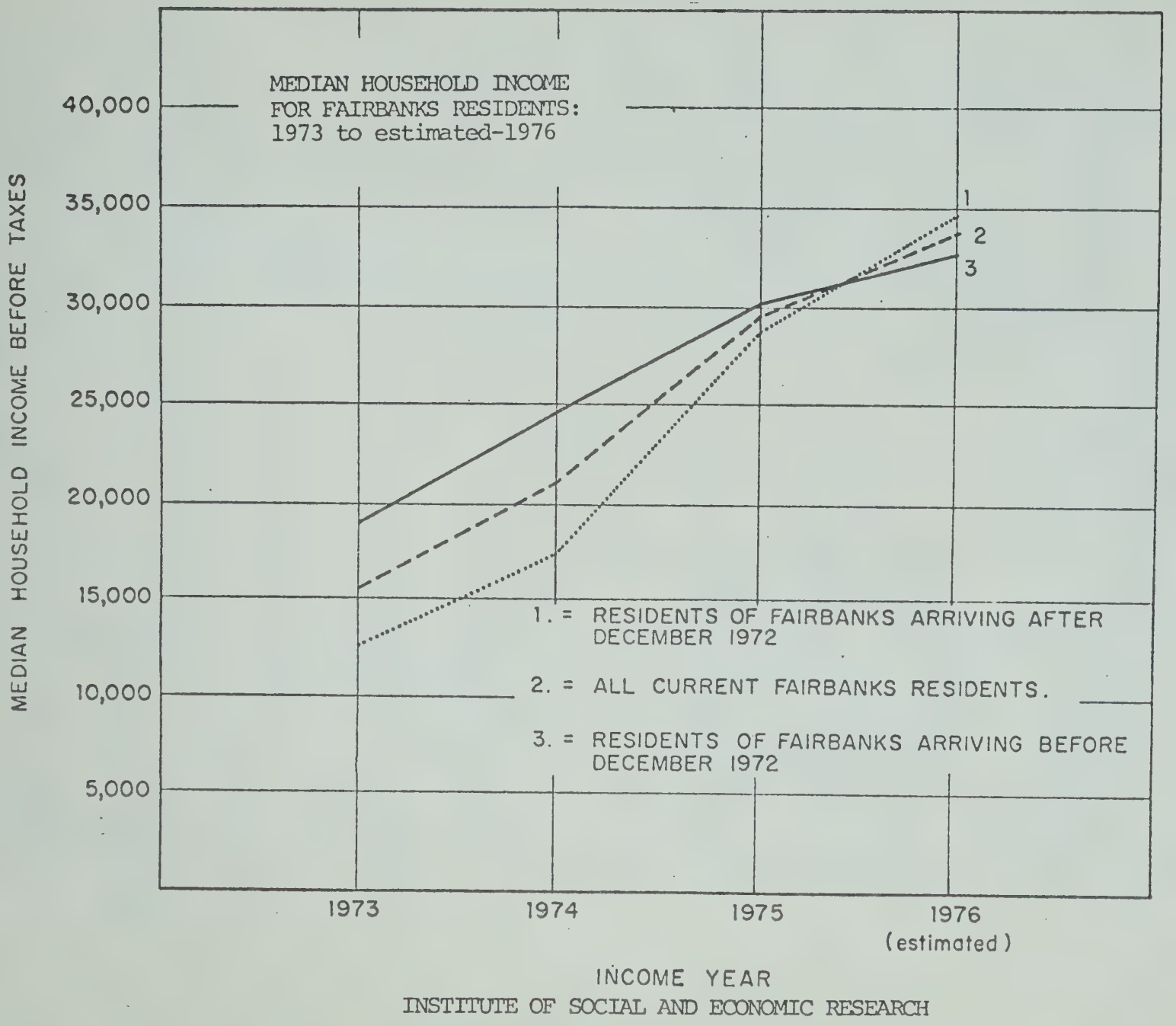


Figure 1. Median Household Income for Fairbanks Residents: 1973 to estimated-1976

Table 12

Reasons for Migrating to Alaska

| Reasons (mean scores) * | Length of Residence | |
|---|---|---|
| | Less than 3 Years | 3 Years or more |
| 1. immediate income gains | 2.7 | 3.6 |
| 2. challenging or exciting job | 2.7 | 3.3 |
| 3. chance to be independent; to start something new | 2.9 | 2.9 |
| 4. curiosity about Alaska | 2.9 | 3.0 |
| 5. being close to a wilderness environment | 3.0 | 2.8 |
| 6. long-term economic opportunity | 3.0 | 3.2 |
| 7. being part of a small community | 3.9 | 3.2 |
| 8. to get away from urban problems | 3.9 | 3.5 |
| 9. to live a pioneer's life; be self-reliant | 4.0 | 3.6 |
| 10. to be with family or friends | 4.2 | 3.8 |
| 11. school; military | 4.3 | 4.0 |
| Number of Respondents: | 167 | 211 |

*Mean scores are the average of all responses for each reason for coming on a scale ranging from 1 (extremely important) to 5 (not at all important). A difference of 0.2 would be likely to occur by chance less than 5 times in 100.

controlling for age. The longer-term residents have the same relationship to the U.S. population as a whole. The public use sample data also indicates that about half of the recent migrants have arrived from three states (California, Oregon, and

Washington), once the confounding influence of military mobility has been controlled for.

Additional findings from the Fairbanks Survey indicate that longer- term residents had sharply rising incomes during the construction boom, but recent migrants were earning as much household income as the longer-term residents. Recent arrivals indicated job and income gains as primary reasons for migrating, while longer-term residents emphasized environment relative to narrow economic considerations, perhaps an indication of acculturation. Additionally, a substantial portion (40 percent) of recent migrants to Fairbanks were planning to move within two years, and longer-term residents seemed much less inclined to move.

All the admittedly fragmentary and in-only data tends to support a "wave" hypothesis of migration, where successive waves of well-educated young professionals arrive in Alaska and begin departing almost immediately. The wave tends to recede, taking most of the "sea shells" with it and, in fact, may be taking the relatively well-educated and youthful within the wave. It may be possible to test this "wave" hypothesis with national public use sample data, by examining the characteristics of non-Alaska residents in 1970 reporting Alaskan residence for 1965. Until this additional research is completed, our conclusions are highly tentative.

Table 13

Plans to Move from Fairbanks by Length of Residence

| Plans to Move from Fairbanks | Length of Residence | |
|---|---|---|
| | Less than 3 Years | 3 Years or more |
| Within 6 months | 21% | 7% |
| Within 2 years | 20 | 8 |
| Sometime in the future | 21 | 21 |
| No plans to move | 38 | 64 |
| | 100% | 100% |
| Number of Respondents: | 167 | 240 |

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